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Comment

Incorporating *Empire*

NEW DAY IN THE GOLD COAST

COMPLETELY falsifying all the prophets of disorder, the Gold Coast people carried out their first general election in exemplary fashion. There was no intimidation, no evidence that returning officers betrayed the confidence of the illiterates, no indication that the literates could not manage a secret ballot. Europeans voted, apparently without arousing ill-feeling. Indeed, reports convey the impression of a good-tempered festival quite unlike the grim contest waged in this country in the cold, wet weather of February, 1950. As expected, the Convention People's Party won all the municipal seats (5) and practically all (29) of the 35 rural constituencies. It claims, in addition, the support of 14 of the 37 members returned for the territorial seats*. The C.P.P. won because it was the best organised, because it promised the people the earth, and because—most important of all—it had broken away from the old dull tradition of respectable politics conducted by eminent and intelligent moderates far above the heads of the mass of the population. No doubt many of the C.P.P. candidates defeated better men than themselves, no doubt some will turn out to be poor material for a Legislative Assembly, but at least they were able to speak in terms that ordinary people understood. The Gold Coast now becomes the only territory in Africa in which the Government is not remote from the people.

This new Government represents a great achievement on the part of the moderates and the previous administration as well as the C.P.P. Vision and deep understanding went into the making of the Coussey Report, and the sheer hard

work of translating its recommendations into a workable Constitution was done largely without the assistance of the C.P.P. When the results were known, the Governor, as an act of grace, remitted the remainder of the sentences of C.P.P. leaders then in prison. The break with colonial tradition could hardly have been more marked.

Will the C.P.P. now break with tradition, too, or will it hanker after the well-trodden road of bitter, negative unconstructive opposition? Mr. Nkrumah's first reactions are most encouraging: 'I come out of gaol and into the Assembly without the slightest bitterness to Britain,' he was reported to have said (*The Times*, 14.2.51), 'I stand for no racialism, no discrimination against any race or individual, but I am unalterably opposed to imperialism in any form.' The party desired self-government within the Commonwealth, he went on, would welcome the retention of all the present officials who were willing to cooperate, and indeed hoped to establish such good conditions that more teachers, scientists and technicians would be encouraged to come to the Gold Coast, 'especially from Britain.' As we go to press, the Governor is choosing his Executive Council—three officials and eight elected members, of whom the majority will come from the C.P.P.

How long will the festival atmosphere continue? It is obvious from the C.P.P. election manifesto, on which a contributor comments on page 7, that the party has so far concentrated in thinking about ends rather than means. The Governments of the newly-freed countries in Asia are now busy tackling the problems which cannot be solved merely by attaining political independence. In Britain, the Labour Government has been compelled to learn the physical and psychological limitations which inhibit the implementation of

* See *Venture* December, 1949, and January, 1950, for details of the composition of the new Legislative Assembly.

plans which gained the overwhelming support of the electorate in 1945. Yet in all of these cases, the new Governments were backed by movements much more strongly organised than the C.P.P., which had devoted much more thought to constructive measures than the C.P.P. appears to have done. Unless this experience is regarded as irrelevant, we can expect that the C.P.P. is now entering upon its most difficult phase, in which public finance, the reform of local government, Africanisation of the public services and swollen shoot will (or ought to) loom larger than propaganda for S.G.

It is true that the C.P.P. can always claim that it has said from the first that its aims can be realised only through self-government, and that the new constitution does not grant self-government. It has an alibi for failure, should an alibi be necessary. But why should it be necessary? Each of the new Ministers has an experienced official Secretary at his elbow. If there is goodwill on both sides, as there has been up to now, there is no reason to expect a breakdown. As *West Africa* has pointed out, the late Government's Ten-Year Development Plan* does not differ in aim from the C.P.P. manifesto. There is no genuine conflict of interest in the Gold Coast, unless politicians and officials go out of their way to find one. It is possible, of course, that the strain will be too great. It should not pass unnoticed in the Gold Coast that the failure of elected Ministers in Jamaica has, it is reported, produced that unheard of thing, an official revolt. There, we are told, permanent officials have at long last protested that elected ministers put forward no plans themselves, but blame the officials when things go wrong. The fact is that mixed Executive Councils are inherently difficult to work. If their political sides are dominated by irresponsible demagogues, they are impossible to work. Jamaica stands as a warning. The Gold Coast has every opportunity to stand as a beacon of hope for the rest of Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA AGAIN

THE British Government is about to be presented with another appallingly difficult decision on Southern Rhodesian legislation. Last year, Southern Rhodesia passed another in its long series of Land Apportionment Acts. The 1950

Act was to be, it was said, a "final" measure.* There remain 17,780,908 acres Unassigned, whose apportionment is to be considered by a Select Committee of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, in which no African sits. Now the Southern Rhodesian Government is proposing a new Bill, the Native Land Husbandry Bill, which aims at conserving the soil from bad farming methods in the African areas. Under this legislation, if passed, boards will be set up in areas threatened with erosion, and will issue farming and stock permits in accordance with the capacity of the land. Will 'surplus' cattle and 'surplus' farmers then have to leave the land? No African has a say in the Parliament which may pass this measure. No African, it appears, will sit on the Board which will operate it. Yet Africans will be moved off European land under the 1950 Act, and African farmers may be unable to farm African land under the new legislation. We appreciate as much as anybody the need to conserve the soil, but we do not believe that such a measure should be operated, against the expressed wishes of Africans and at a time when European farmers are short of labour, by a Government which has encouraged European immigration up to a point at which Europeans will now occupy more land than the maximum recommended for Africans. Moreover, just in case Africans may be elected to Parliament on the existing common roll, qualifications for the franchise are to be raised to a point at which only a handful will be able to vote. This is to be done through the Electoral Amendment Bill, the results of which have already been described by the Minister for Native Affairs: 'Some 300 Africans are on the common voting roll,' he is reported to have said, 'but legislation will shortly come before Parliament to increase the financial qualifications and add a severe educational test When the additional Parliamentary seats are introduced, Africans will require 1,500 voters before they can obtain their own constituency. *That will not occur during my lifetime, nor that of my children.*' These measures concern the British Government, since the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations may advise His Majesty to withhold assent from discriminatory legislation. Nothing could be done about the 1950 Land Apportionment Act, since it came at the end of a long train of legislation to which assent had given. Nor is the *Native Land Husbandry Bill* wholly bad, but it provides inadequate protection for Africans as it stands at

* See Planning and Achievement in Gold Coast Development, January, 1951. Published by the Public Relations Office, Accra.

* See January, 1951, Venture, page 6.

present. *The Electoral Amendment Bill* is admittedly discriminatory in intention, if not in the letter. If these Bills become law, the British Government will by its own act have thrown away the power of disallowance which it retains. It will also have thrown away the goodwill of millions of Africans in Southern Africa whose forefathers once believed in the protection of Queen Victoria.

CARIBBEAN CUSTOMS UNION

A MUCH-NEEDED blow at the antiquated structure of West Indian economic life will be dealt if the legislatures of the various Colonies accept and implement the *Report of the Commission on the Establishment of a Customs Union in the British Caribbean Area*.^{*} The Commission, which has worked for two years, makes detailed recommendations for a common system of identification and classification of goods for customs purposes, statistical methods, and customs administration. It points out that the Colonial Office submitted a Draft Model Customs Ordinance to the local Governments in 1938, but only Jamaica and Trinidad have 'taken any steps to bring their customs legislation into line with the model or otherwise with modern requirements.' Administrative improvement is 'thus an absolute essential if a customs union—which is an obvious first step towards federation—is to be operated at all. There will also have to be some reorientation in taxation. In 1946, all the West Indian territories with the exception of Trinidad and the Virgin Islands drew more than a quarter of their total revenue excluding Colonial Development and Welfare grants from customs duties, the highest proportions being 44 per cent. in St. Lucia and Montserrat. Free trade between the territories themselves will reduce this burden, and compel these Colonies to find more of their revenue by taxing their higher income groups rather than food. A common external tariff, however, is not recommended at this stage, since interests vary widely. Agreement could not be reached on such items as tobacco and cotton piece goods, but an agreed tariff for 643 items out of a total of 682 imported from outside the whole area is recommended. The Report also recommends a common system of negotiations with countries outside the Customs Union, if it is formed. It is clear that full implementation depends on the achievement of a political federation, in which tariffs

would be fixed—at least for the agreed items—by a Federal Customs Board for the whole area. In the absence of federation, the Report can only suggest a Customs Union Advisory Board, which would have to proceed by way of agreement with individual Governments. Once again it is revealed that economic advance in the West Indies is inseparable from political co-operation. At present, the various Colonies are competing with one another in attempts to attract tourist trade and capital investments from outside (see Fact, page 6). The establishment of a unified internal market would forestall wasteful competition. The establishment of a common front to the outside world would simplify trade for everybody. The Report now goes to the West Indian legislatures for consideration. We hope it will be accepted.

STRAWS IN KENYA

CONSTITUTIONAL change is now fore-shadowed in Kenya, where the Governor is busy consulting unofficials of all races. The perfect solution would be advance on the basis of local agreement achieved without the intervention of the Secretary of State. Is there any hope of this? The most encouraging sign is the attempt to form a Kenya Citizens' Association of all racial groups. On the initiative of Mr. Peter Koinange, who has played a big part in African education efforts, 45 people recently met together in Nairobi. They included three Europeans, one African and two Asian unofficial Members of Legislative Council, the leaders of the Kenya African Union and prominent churchmen. One courageous decision was that the projected Association should not confine itself to social matters, but should take politics in its stride. Is this the beginning of a non-racial approach to the manifold problems of local and national government in Kenya? If it becomes that, then Kenya may yet lead the way in East and Central Africa. Encouragement is also to be found in the ending of the 'finger-printing' dilemma. Once and for all, we hope, the Government of Kenya has decided that people of all races are to be registered, and that all—not Africans only—are to submit to finger-printing. The opposition of vocal groups of Europeans and Indians has been overridden. The decision of the Government will be welcomed as fair to everybody, as all Government decisions should be. If these two straws are an indication of the way the Kenya wind is blowing, then the constitutional discussions—difficult though they must inevitably be—may well succeed.

^{*} Colonial No. 268. H.M. Stationery Office.

POLITICAL FUTURE OF BRITISH WEST INDIES*

by Norman Manley, K.C.

MR. MANLEY said that the first objective of the West Indies was the integration of the people, none of whom were natives to the West Indies—whether white or black, Indian or Chinese, their ancestors had all come from other lands. The situation demanded a West Indian nationalism, the emergence of a mass consciousness of their right status in the world. All political struggles must be understood against this background.

Now West Indians had arrived at the end stage of the struggle, for the last generation had already faced imperialism. Mr. Manley recalled the presence of Sir Stafford Cripps on the platform when the people's National Party was inaugurated. Lord Milverton, at that time Governor of Jamaica, had referred to Sir Stafford Cripps as an itinerant politician sowing the damnable seeds of disloyalty. But West Indian independence was now inevitable. It was simply a question of time. Tomorrow would come the challenge to a real West Indian nation on the economic, spiritual and cultural levels, and a new generation of thinkers was needed to meet the challenge.

The most important problem to consider was the economic condition of the West Indies. It was as desperate as any people had faced at any time. In Jamaica more than 30% were unemployed and 20% partially unemployed. For every development which took up manpower two or three times more came on to the market every year. To place one single worker in employment a capital investment of £500—£1,000 was necessary. 18,000 workers came on to the labour market every year and had to be absorbed. The population of Jamaica was 400 per square mile. The problem in Barbados with 1,000 to a square mile was even worse. It was the largest concentration of population in any agricultural country—perhaps that gave the Barbadians their sense of superiority.

What life could the West Indies sustain in the future? All ideas had been borrowed from abroad; patterns of living had been accepted which might not be in the best interests of the people. For instance, they had accepted Americanised New York ideas of the material comforts of life, a standard that was quite impossible for the West Indies. It was a good thing that students were being trained under austerity in Britain.

There had been an upsurge of progressive forces since the war and they had believed that Socialism would stride forward. But men of substance had bided their time and today there was regression of progressive forces. It was the Chambers of Commerce who were dominant. Small islands were nervous of federation because they believed that they would come under the dominance of the Chambers of Commerce.

On federation, Mr. Manley said that the arrival of Mr. Creech Jones had created the deepest of interest and the appointment of the Standing Closer Association Committee under Sir Hubert Rance had aroused wider enthusiasm. But the Committee had wasted time and

before the Report came out people had lost their interest. He would confine himself to saying that at the best it was an unappetising document. Elements on the Committee had represented no-one but themselves or class interests in the Colonies. The Jamaica Government, he was ashamed to say, had sent the Clerk to the House of Representatives. The Committee had agreed on one idea, the political objective of Dominion status with economic independence. After that enlightened effort the Report became a series of anti-climaxes—an abortion of so many mixed marriages.

How were 15 territories with different constitutions to be federated? Jamaica and Barbados in their different ways were nearing self-government, British Honduras was still a Crown Colony, British Guiana was only now considering a new constitution, the smaller islands were at different levels. There could be no federation without altering the constitutions. The subject had been debated intensively by the Caribbean Labour Congress for years and they had all agreed that some level of unanimity must be achieved. It was impossible for progressive people to accept federal government on the basis that had been offered. The proposed federal government would have no power to raise revenue. An Executive was envisaged so stripped of power that no self-respecting Jamaican would enter it: an executive of 14 people, of whom the Prime Minister would select 7, the Governor-General would nominate another 6 and there would be added not more than three Officials. The Executive could advise the Governor-General but the Governor-General was left free to act on a number of special subjects and Orders in Council were reserved. It was impossible for the West Indies to accept federation on such a basis—there were Colonies already too advanced to achieve Dominion status by such methods. What were the Committee afraid of? In one word 'nationalism'—the power of the masses. Maybe the approach to federation would have to be on a functional basis before the West Indies could achieve the constitution they deserved.

The necessities of the situation were drawing people together. For instance, he hoped that most West Indians would go to the University that was being built in Jamaica, in order to be integrated in the West Indian scene and to go abroad for technical skill afterwards. The functional approach was working well. Already there were signs of getting together in the educational field, through the Chambers of Commerce, in the Civil Service and in the political and trade union fields. Mr. Manley said that he hoped that the Report on the Customs Union would be carried out and that Jamaica would adopt it and help the other Colonies.

It was obvious that they should federate, but why was it going to take longer than they had hoped for? It was useless to think that federation would solve their economic problems, but it would help to tackle them. The real problem was the dissension amongst West Indians themselves. They were used to blaming everyone else for their ills, like children blaming their bad parents. Mr. Manley said, 'The day we can unite under effective mass leadership we can command any political status we want.' Jamaica could have got a better constitution if it had not been for their re-

* Report of an address to the West Indian Students' Union, London, on February 2, 1951, by the leader of the People's National Party of Jamaica.

actionaries and laggards. They were already one year behind the time that had been offered for a change in their constitution. If the progressive party were in power, he was convinced that they could get any constitution they wanted.

If the West Indies could get together they could achieve Dominion status tomorrow. Their greatest need was to find the leadership. The masses had to discover the leadership within themselves. It was more than a matter of speeches and writing—it meant a large number of West Indians being prepared to devote a considerable

part of their lives, year by year, to teaching a people who for generations had been taught to despise themselves. It was difficult for them to face their new responsibilities. They had to work step by step, building and re-building, over and over again without discouragement. It took patience, endurance and love. There would be no West Indian society until this had been done.

That was the way to create a West Indian nation for themselves and for the coloured peoples of the world. It was an inspiring opportunity.

EDUCATING MALAYA'S WORKERS

by Ooi Thiam Siew

In our January number we published an article by Mr. F. W. Dalley, leader of last year's ICFTU delegation to South-east Asia. In the following article the Secretary of the Penang Division of the Malayan Trade Union Council develops Mr. Dalley's argument that education for trade union workers is a pressing need in the area.

One of the most important recommendations made by a recent delegation of five ICFTU members is the proposal to set up two Asian labour colleges as quickly as possible. While such a move is more than desirable, it is obvious that education of the mass of illiterate people could not be undertaken by the founding of just two colleges. Indeed, adult education could only succeed in South-East Asia through the widespread extension of lectures in evening classes, week-end schools and 'summer' schools. It is, therefore, necessary that public bodies on the same line as the Workers' Educational Association should be set up to help and co-operate with the labour colleges in a scheme of adult education.

In order to comment on Malayan adult educational problems, it is necessary to understand that only one in ten receives school education in Malaya to-day, and this, in my opinion, is a comparatively conservative estimate. Secondly, education, elementary or secondary, is not free and in view of the fact that the present state of affairs in Malaya does not provide a 'living wage' for most of the workers, it is a safe guess as to whose children receive this education. This is the first problem, because this generation's uneducated children become the next generation's illiterate working-class people.*

The prevalence of illiteracy presents any adult education movement with the difficult problem of deciding what to teach first. The two Peoples' Education Associations in Malaya have so far failed to attract workers to adult education.

Personally, I feel—a feeling shared by many experienced British educationists—that adult education in Malaya should begin by concentrating not so much on illiteracy as on the more important and interesting subjects of civil responsibilities, political affairs and human rights. Teach the people to use their own free power of reasoning to attain political and social democracy, even though such education entails, at this juncture, lecturing in various languages. The peoples' ignorance is a happy hunting ground for the Communists, and so one must realise that adult education in Malaya should not be, as at present, merely a help towards literacy of the masses.

The promotion of elementary English education (even the sound of these words) creates a sense of distrust in the good intentions of adult education, because the ordinary worker reasons that he is past school education and that even being able to read or write is not going to benefit him materially. Unless adult education is shown in some perspective of direct benefit to him, no worker will be willing to devote his hard-pressed leisure hours to attend lectures or classes. One can expect to hold his interest only by teaching him to comprehend what is happening around him.

No doubt this radical change of making the people able to comprehend what is going on might be considered 'revolutionary' in the present delicate situation in Malaya by certain conservative thinkers. However, knowing the minds of the domiciled Malaysians and the havoc wrought by Communist doctrine (although suppressed, still to be found disseminating among the people), I believe that the remedy is not to keep an ignorant proletariat ignorant but to educate them and show

Continued on page 8.

* See Venture, November, 1950, and February, 1951, for details of the educational plans of the Governments of Malaya and Singapore.

INVESTMENT IN THE COLONIES

A Bank of England Survey published on October 2, 1950, contains an analysis of the United Kingdom's overseas investments in 1938/1948. The nominal value of the total investments has declined by 45%, but investment in colonial territories has declined by only about 6%. The figures show only nominal capital value of investment through securities quoted on, unofficially dealt in, or otherwise known to the London Stock Exchange. The table below shows the values by area.

(£ million)

ALL SECURITIES	1938	1948
British West Africa	55	47
British East Africa	24	15
British Central Africa*	73	79
Malaya (The Federation of Malaya and Singapore	67	64
British West Indies	21	21
North Borneo	5.5	4

* Comprises Southern Rhodesia, North Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The investments are divided into three main classes—loans raised by Colonial Governments and Municipalities, shares and debentures of U.K.-registered companies operating entirely or almost entirely abroad, and those of companies registered abroad, as shown below.

(£ million)

Territories	Government loans		UK Re-loans		Companies Registered Abroad	
	1938	1948	1938	1948	1938	1948
British West Africa	18.9	11.6	35.7	35.2	—	—
British East Africa	15.3	6.5	6.9	5.9	1.5	2.5
British Central Africa	12.4	42.1	52.3	32.4	8.6	4.2
Malaya	1.4	1.3	63.8	60.8	1.4	1.5
British West Indies	5.4	6.6	12.2	11.6	2.3	2.5
North Borneo	—	—	5.5	4.0	—	—

The United Kingdom and colonial Governments have supplemented private by public investments. Some Governments have encouraged private investment by providing specialist information and enacting legislation. Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and British Honduras have recently passed measures to afford to people establishing new industries reliefs from income tax and from customs duties on the importation of capital equipment. Jamaica's efforts are described in *Invest in Jamaica*, a brochure published by the Government in August, 1950. 303 acres of Government-owned land in Kingston have been set aside for building by industrial and commercial undertakings, and the Government is improving road, water and electricity supplies for an industrial estate with easy access to the railway and harbour. The Pioneer Industries (Encouragement) Act

of 1949 empowers the Governor-in-Council to declare any industry which is not being carried on in Jamaica 'on a substantial scale' to be a 'pioneer industry.' 'Pioneer' manufacturers may, for five years, import free of customs duties and tonnage tax all building materials, tools, plant and machinery required for their factories, and set off against income the equivalent of one-fifth of their capital expenditure.

BRITISH GUIANA SUGAR—II

We give below the second part of the summary of the action taken in British Guiana as a result of the Report of the Venn Commission of Enquiry into the Sugar Industry of that territory. (See *Venture*, February, 1951, for first part.)

RECOMMENDATION 1. Canals should be dredged and cleaned by draglines or grabs, not human (and frequently female) labour.

ACTION. The Sugar Producers' Association have agreed to implement this recommendation as finance and availability of equipment permit.

RECOMMENDATION 2. Women and girls should be prevented, by Ordinance, from working in water.

ACTION. Agreement was reached some years ago by the S.P.A. and the Trade Unions that women should not work in water. In no place are women now employed by sugar estates to work in water. Legislation is therefore unnecessary.

(Note. The Report (page 9) states that 'the Commission saw one old-fashioned dredger in action on a main canal, but elsewhere men and women, up to their waists or even higher in the water, were everywhere pulling out weeds with their hands or removing mud and debris in small baskets . . . the women are not always directly thus employed by the management, but may be assisting their husbands to carry out a piece-work contract.'—Ed.)

RECOMMENDATION 5. The Commission questions the recommendations of the Evans Commission for the acceptance by British Guiana of immigrants from the overpopulated islands, owing to British Guiana's own increase in population due to successful malaria prevention.

ACTION. 'It is agreed that Government should not permit the immigration of workers likely to be competitive with unemployed labour in the Colony.'

RECOMMENDATION 9. There should be free courses in technical subjects for young workers, in the employers' time.

ACTION. The S.P.A. agrees and detailed proposals are being drawn up.

RECOMMENDATION 17. Regulations on United Kingdom lines should be made to guard moving machinery.

ACTION. 'The introduction of such regulations awaits the appointment of a Factory Inspector without whom they could not be enforced.'

RECOMMENDATION 20. A Wages Board should be formed for the whole industry (field and factory), to deal with pay, holidays with pay, etc. The Board

should review all existing wage rates immediately after its formation. The Commission praised the work of the Department of Labour.

ACTION. There already are adequate arrangements for collective bargaining. 'Neither the S.P.A. or the Unions recognised by them consider the establishment of a Wages Board necessary and in the existing circumstances Government accepts this view.'

RECOMMENDATION 23. Full recognition should be accorded to the Drivers' Association, the Sugar Boilers' Union and the Sugar Estate Clerks' Association.

ACTION. The S.P.A. has accorded full recognition.

RECOMMENDATION 22. Estate Joint Committees, constituted upon existing lines but with representatives also of the three unions referred to in 23 should, by Ordinance be set up for each estate. Only members of registered and recognised trade unions should be eligible for election as workers' representatives.

ACTION. Recommendation accepted by the S.P.A. and recognised unions. Government considers legislation impracticable.

(Note.—Joint Committees have been formed since 1945, after formal agreement between the unions and the S.P.A. Non-members could vote in the election of workers' representatives, but representatives must be members of recognised unions—i.e. The Manpower Citizens' Association or The British Guiana Workers' League. The Commission reported that the system had survived, owing to careful nursing by the Labour Department, and that wherever it was well established, they found a 'happy' estate. The system was attacked by 'those who looked to the estates as a potential recruiting ground for new ventures.'—Ed.)

RECOMMENDATION 24. A Trades Union Advisory Council should be formed of the five unions mentioned above to co-ordinate trade union activity. 'We deprecate any further increase in the number of unions catering for the industry.'

ACTION. This Committee has been formed.

(Note.—This recommendation arises from the conflict within the industry between the established Unions and the new Guiana Industrial Workers' Union, which grew out of the estates disturbances of 1948. The G.I.W.U. was sponsored by some prominent members of the East Indian Association, and opposed the Joint Committee system. The Commission stated 'the idea that the moment of serious dispute occurs a new Union should be formed must be strenuously opposed . . . if workers are dissatisfied with their elected representatives on the Estate Joint Committees or with the executives of their own unions they have the remedy in their own hands . . . democratic elections are now the rule in the established unions.' The Union claimed to have 4,130 members, but its register showed 3,941 names entered, 1,300 who had paid entrance fee only, and 2,640 who had paid entrance fee and monthly subscriptions.—Ed.)

RECOMMENDATION 25. Only those employed in the sugar industry should be eligible for trade union membership in the industry. All candidates for union office (except full-time paid secretaries and organisers) should have been employed in the industry for three years. The recommendation follows Hong Kong and Malaya Ordinances of 1948.

ACTION. None. Government view is that workers should have freedom of choice.

The C.P.P. manifesto for the first General Election in the Gold Coast is a somewhat puzzling document. The range of its proposals is so all-embracing and the ambiguity of its language such that it is difficult to know what *precisely* is being promised. Admittedly there is a specially featured paragraph, 'OUR PROGRAMME,' which points out that while the C.P.P. is struggling for self-government it will do all in its power to improve the condition of the people, but the implementation of its development programme will only be possible when self-government has been attained and the C.P.P. has full control. But *how long* after that state of affairs has been reached is not discussed. It is for time to show whether this is an honest attempt to convey to the people the long-term idealism of the programme outlined, or merely a cover for potential failure to implement what are known to be impossible claims and promises. A vague reference towards the end of the manifesto to 'the Party's Five-Year Economic Plan' is not reassuring.

After an attack on the Coussey Committee and its recommendations, which are considered to constitute 'colonial servitude and degradation,' the manifesto is divided into three main sections:

Political: The main aim is full self-government now. There is a definite promise to fight for and obtain a free National Assembly based on universal adult suffrage at 21 years, direct elections with no property or residential qualifications for candidates, not less than 100 constituencies of about 50,000 people each, and a Senate for Chiefs. The second plank is a strong bid for the support of local government officials. The third is the re-organisation of the legal system and police service.

Economic: The 'brief account of what the Party intends to do' in the economic sphere when entrusted with government includes 'the immediate materialisation of the Volta Hydro-Electric Scheme and the electrification of the whole country,' widespread industrialisation, double-tracking and extension of railways, extension of roads, mechanisation of agriculture, country-wide grain silos, large scale afforestation, irrigation for large scale farming, remedying of soil erosion and swollen shoot, canning factories and 'a network of cold-storage plants all over the country' for the fishing industry, reorganisation of retail trade and promotion of co-operative enterprise and last, but not least, the establishment of a National Bank of Ghana immediately on attaining self-government.

Social: This programme takes in its stride jobs for all, weekly wages, a hire-purchase system 'with reasonable safeguards for the traders,' free and compulsory education for all up to the age of 16, with every variety of further education available thereafter, and, crowning glory, 'The Party will bring the University College to a full University status at once.' There will be scholarships for 'all deserving students,' family assistance, social insurance, a full national health service and a network of recreational facilities all over the country—stadiums, swimming pools, concert halls, play-centres, etc.—which would certainly be the envy of Britain. New homes are promised, with controlled rents, water and light laid on—in fact, new towns and villages with water-borne sewage in all four Regions. Finally (under 'Miscellaneous') a few odds and ends which will be attended to are the broadcasting service, establishment

of a film industry and expansion of postal, telephone and telegraph services.

The major and grievous flaw in the manifesto is the omission of a fourth, **Financial**, section. The political aspirations are understandable. The vast social and economic plans are very desirable—but how are they to be paid for? There is a six-line paragraph about taxes—under colonial rule these are unpopular because there is no commensurate return, but under self-government, although there would still be taxes, they would bring social, educational, medical, cultural and economic rewards for the whole community. That, and wholly inadequate comments about the need for hard work and sacrifice, is all the electorate, mainly untaught and uninformed, is given to understand of the problems to be solved. What of the educated supporters of C.P.P.? Do they believe the Party's Five-

Continued from page 5.

them the real part they have to play in a truly democratic society. This must be done, even though such lectures would tend to reveal to a wider circle the undemocratic structure of the present nominated Government. Educate them and show them the constitutional means of changing a Government democratically if they feel that it should be done. This could be achieved, not by propaganda speeches through Radio Malaya (because firstly the proletariat, by and large, have no radio sets, and secondly they are suspicious of news coming from a Government not entirely free of capitalist imperialism), but by free discussions after lectures.

In this connection, the proposed establishment of a labour college in Singapore is heartening news, but the Asian mind is inclined to be pessimistic, because the ICFTU is still progressing towards such aims at a snail's pace. Malaysians like other Asians have no longer the same tolerance as the Western peoples, and with each succeeding day and month, the ignorance of the people (a calamity of pre-war British colonial policy) is the very means of helping the Communists in their attack on capitalist imperialism in Malaya and in their rôle as liberators. Admittedly there are few experienced lecturers among the Malayan people. This is all the more reason for the early setting up of a labour college in Singapore to train labour leaders, trade union officials, and true political leaders.

• Another point worth mentioning, which underlines the preceding arguments, comes out in the findings of the ICFTU delegates. They came to the conclusion that political action in the minds of ignorant, illiterate people must stand out as the chief factor to be considered. As Mr. Dalley pointed out in his article, 'The delegation took full account of this predominance in the minds of many Asian workers of political as compared with industrial activities.' An Asian's thought is not changed easily and when he considers political

Year Economic Plan can be effected simply by getting rid of the British, making sacrifices (unspecified), working harder and paying tax cheerfully? What of the funds, facilities and *time* required before enough trained men and women are available to push even a few of these projects ahead? What increases in taxation are proposed to provide these unlimited social services? How are loans to be raised to acquire the capital equipment for the vast industrial schemes? What surety does the C.P.P. offer to investors, foreign or African?

The absence of even an outline of fiscal policy is either political naivety or political deception of a very serious order, and unless the C.P.P. does some hard and unemotional thinking and planning on these inescapable problems it will be but a poor servant of its much-loved Ghana.

Jane Wraith.

action comes first, it is better to help him to understand how to obtain political democracy than to sidetrack the issue.

To sum up the arguments, I propose a programme for adult education on the following basis:

(1) Pending the setting-up of the labour college in Singapore, every endeavour should be made by the ICFTU to send experienced workers from the progressive Western countries to impart a sound knowledge of social, economic and political developments in the West, laying emphasis on the democratic approach to these problems. Such lectures could be given to trade union officials, labour representatives and others as a necessary measure, to widen the scope of education given by such leaders to the rank and file in the trade unions, to the Malay peasants and the people.

(2) After the establishment of the labour college in Singapore, a programme should be laid down with the primary function of training labour leaders, which would necessitate them attending a course of lectures on the same principles as the summer schools in England.

(3) While (2) is important, the education of the masses must not be forgotten and this could be tackled in evening classes and week-end schools. Co-operation could be sought from the People's Education Association in Penang and Singapore. Trade unions and educationists in the other States in Malaya should start with the formation of similar Peoples' Education Associations in their States to establish this necessary tie between the workers and the labour college for adult education.

(4) By far the most important point to remember is that lectures and talks in these courses should not concentrate on elementary English education but should indoctrinate ideas of real democracy with the main purpose of drawing out the reasoning powers of the illiterate people. To attempt to make the people literate first and teach them to reason later would be the first and last failure of adult education in Malaya.

Activities of the Bureau

Tanganyika Land Policy

The correspondence with the Secretary of State on Tanganyika land policy is for the time being closed. The Bureau had expressed anxiety at the statement made in Tanganyika about the creation of a 'homogeneous block' of land in the Kilimanjaro area 'to be developed on European lines.' It was thought that this statement suggested a comparison with the 'white' Highlands of Kenya. The Bureau is satisfied that no such project is contemplated in Tanganyika, and that the official statement that had caused anxiety afforded a wrong impression. The Bureau also expressed doubts on the whole policy of allowing new settlement in Tanganyika. Information received from the Colonial Office was that new farms (that is, farms other than former German estates) leased to individuals during 1948, 1949 and the first nine months of 1950 numbered respectively only 6, 39 and 30. It was agreed that the shortage of food in Tanganyika and the existence of large undeveloped areas justified some further settlement, provided it remained on a very small scale, as the Bureau was assured is at present contemplated. The Bureau remains convinced, however, that the political disadvantages of new settlement on any large scale far outweigh any immediate economic advantages which may result, and consequently will continue to press this point of view whenever it may be necessary.

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N. Rhodesian Constitution

Representatives of the Bureau have also had a full discussion in the Colonial Office on the position of the European elected Members on the Northern Rhodesian Executive and Legislative Councils. It was pointed out to the Bureau that the Governor has agreed to accept the opinion of the unofficial side of the Executive Council when the Unofficials are unanimous, and that unanimity can be achieved only if the Member Representing African Interests is in agreement with the elected Members. The Bureau remained dissatisfied with this position. The Bureau emphasised that the failure of Official Members of the Legislative Council to vote against Unofficial resolutions in favour of federation and immigration had disturbed African opinion. On immigration, the Colonial Office replied that a Select Committee had been appointed. In regard to the federation vote, it was stated that the Government spokesman had made it clear during the debate that the passing of the motion would in no way indicate or imply that His Majesty's Government would agree to take the action suggested in the motion. His Majesty's Government stated that they were keeping an open mind on the question of closer relations between the Central African territories, and in these circumstances it would not have been proper for officials to have voted either for or against an Unofficial motion on federation. There was no question of a decision being taken in Northern Rhodesia on federation or immigration without reference to His Majesty's Government. It was added that the Governor retained his reserve powers. The Bureau pointed out that Mr. Welensky's frequent statements on the power of elected Members were having a profoundly disturbing effect on African opinion, in consequence of policy statements issued by

the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, the Bureau has requested the Secretary of State to meet a deputation.

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Southern Rhodesia

The Bureau is in correspondence with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations on the *Native Land Husbandry Bill* recently passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. While recognising the need to control agriculture in the interests of preserving the land, the Bureau has expressed anxiety at the methods proposed in this legislation. Details of proposals to raise qualifications for the franchise in Southern Rhodesia in such a way that all but a tiny handful of Africans would be excluded from voting on the common roll have now been received. The Bureau has intimated to the Secretary of State that it will ask for a disallowance of this legislation if it is passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

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Annual Report

The *Annual Report* on the work of the Bureau during 1950 is now available, and is despatched to members with the current number of *Venture*. Readers who would like extra copies may obtain them from the Secretary, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1 (4d. a copy, including postage).

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Publications

Owing to organisational and financial difficulties at the end of 1950, the Bureau's research programme was held up. These difficulties have now been overcome. A pamphlet is being prepared on the working of the United Nations trusteeship system, and will soon be available. Work has started on a study of publicly-controlled economic projects in colonial territories. This will cover the Overseas Food Corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation, the local corporations such as the Cameroons Development Corporation, produce marketing boards, etc. It is hoped to include a chapter on economic development in Nigeria, where a large number of different methods of publicly-controlled development are now being tried within one territory. It is also intended to produce a pamphlet on colonial trade unions. Members who have information and views on these subjects are asked to communicate with the Secretary.

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Trade Union Conference

The Bureau is organising a Saturday conference, from 2.30 p.m.—7.30 p.m., April 28 at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1. The main speakers will be Mr. Tom Cook, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. F. M. Dalley, and Mr. R. W. Williams, M.P. Sir Luke Fawcett will be in the Chair. The subject-matter of the conference is *Colonial Challenge to British Trade Unions*. The first session is *The Colonies and the British Worker*, and the second *Trade Unions in the Colonies*. Tickets will cost 1/-, and the conference is open to members of the Fabian Colonial Bureau and to delegates from Trade Unions in London and the Home Counties.

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Parliament

Mineworkers' Wages in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. John Hynd asked whether the Colonial Secretary was aware that wages of Europeans on the N. Rhodesian Copperbelt had risen in five years from £58 to £93 per month, for underground workers, whilst the equivalent cash wages for Africans had risen from 42s. to 73s. per month; and what action was being taken by the Northern Rhodesian Government to support the claim of the African Mineworkers' Union for wage increases proportionately to the profit-sharing bonus paid to Europeans. Mr. Griffiths replied that the increase mentioned had occurred between 1945 and September, 1950, but the figures quoted for Europeans and Africans did not apply to similar posts. He was glad to inform the House that, as a result of the normal process of collective bargaining, the African Mineworkers' Union had reached agreement with the copper companies on their recent claim. The Commissioner of Labour of the N. Rhodesia Government had acted as conciliator during the course of the discussions. (February 7.)

Deportation Orders in Uganda. Mr. Leslie Hale asked what were the rights of hearing accorded to a native of Uganda before an order could be made by the Governor which ordered his deportation or directed him to reside in some other part of Uganda; and what copies of the evidence were provided to the respondent. Mr. Griffiths replied that these powers were preventative and not punitive and provision was not made in the relevant legislation to cover either points raised. The powers were limited by law to cases of conduct dangerous to peace and good order or of intriguing against or exciting enmity against the Government. (February 7.)

Assistant Medical Officers in Uganda. In reply to Mr. John Parker, Mr. Griffiths said that 58 African Assistant Medical Officers were in Government Service, of whom 9 were in charge of hospital units. All performed operations except one at present on public health duties, and two pursuing further study in the United Kingdom. In reply to a further question, Mr. Griffiths said that it was the aim of Makerere College so to improve and adapt its diploma course that the General Medical Council would admit holders of the diploma without qualification such as was required by them at present. (February 7.)

Land Acquisition by Colonial Civil Servants. Sir Richard Acland asked how many officers in the Colonial Service in Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia had acquired land, either in their own name or in the name of close relatives, in the territories in which they serve; and whether the Governments of these territories would now introduce regulations to prevent the acquisition of land by officials and by members of their families. Mr. Griffiths replied that he was unable to state the number of officers concerned as such cases were not normally reported to the Colonial Office. Under colonial legislation an officer could be given permission to acquire land only if it were clear that his private affairs would not by reason of such acquisition be brought into conflict with his public duties and in view of that safeguard he did not think it necessary to invite the Governments concerned to consider the suggestion in the last part of the question. (February 7.)

Gold Coast Elections. Mr. Gammans asked if any decision had yet been reached as to whether Nkrumah (Secretary of the C.C.P. at present in prison) was eligible to stand as a candidate for the forthcoming elections in the Gold Coast. In reply, Mr. Griffiths said that Mr. Nkrumah had been nominated as a candidate for Accra Municipality and his papers had been accepted by the Returning Officer. Any question of the qualification or disqualification of a member of the Assembly could be determined only by the Supreme Court after the election on any election petition. (February 7.)

Malayan Civil Service. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt asked why on August 1, 1950, only 35 officers out of 276 officers in the Malayan Civil Service were Malay officers; and why there were now more European officers in the Malayan Civil Service than in December, 1941. Mr. Griffiths replied that in the condition prevailing in Malaya it was essential that the Malayan Civil Service should be staffed by the best-qualified officers available. As suitably qualified Malays had become available they had been appointed to the Service. Over the past few years an over-all increase had been called for in the Malayan Civil Service.

In a supplementary question Mr. Wyatt asked whether the Colonial Secretary was aware that before the war half of the members of the Indian Civil Service had been Indian, and that this question of appointing Malay officers to the Malayan Civil Service was the crux of the whole problem of making Malaya responsibly self-governing. Unless she had an administration of her own she could not be responsibly self-governing. Mr. Griffiths said that both he and the Federal Government were most anxious to promote the correct recruiting of more Malays to the Malayan Civil Service as quickly as possible. Under existing conditions there was an urgent demand for men with specialised knowledge. (February 7.)

Detained Persons in Singapore. Mr. Awbery asked how many arrests had recently been made at the University and Musical and Dramatic Association of Singapore; how many persons had been charged; how many released; and whether an assurance could be given that there would be no interference in the normal academic freedom of the University. Mr. Griffiths replied that 14 men and women who were employed at or were students of the University of Malaya and 3 members of the Mayfair Musical and Dramatic Association had been recently detained in Singapore. Of these, two had been released subject to certain restrictions of movement. It was not yet possible to say how many of those still detained would be charged in the court. These arrests had been made solely on the grounds of suspected complicity with the Malayan Communist Party, an illegal organisation whose methods were those of violence and murder. He assured the House that the Government of Singapore had no intention of interfering in any way with the normal freedom of speech and thought and of constitutional political activity, which were an essential and most valuable part of University life. (February 7.)

Guide to Books

Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration

(Buttersworth Scientific Publications, 30/-)

The University of Bristol has published the recent papers presented to the Symposium promoted by the Colston Research Society. These papers are contributed by distinguished authorities from Britain, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and America. They are concerned with the colonial policies pursued by the respective colonial powers, and they discuss the principles and methods of administration applied in the overseas territories. The study of comparative colonial administration has excited in the past far too little interest in this country. This is attributed to our somewhat insular political habits as well as the empirical method which this country tends to follow in political arrangements. We tackle our own colonial problems without reference to the methods pursued and the discoveries made by other imperial powers, and consequently there is a great diversity of method and where territories are adjacent under a variety of colonial powers friction and misunderstanding often arise. An example is the difference in regard to the Ewe people in West Africa—a matter which has been referred to the United Nations, in the hope of settlement.

Already in the past few years considerable co-operation has been achieved between the colonial powers at the technical level, but because of political events since the end of the war, discussions on the administrative and political levels have not been reached. But the co-operation in the technical field has produced excellent results and the series of conversations on various subjects such as transport, health, agricultural improvement, education, have resulted in important advances for the peoples involved. There is also some degree of co-operation in such bodies as the Caribbean Council and the South Pacific Council. The Marshall Aid Plan again brought the colonial powers together in regard to collaboration in colonial development. But there remain, particularly in great continents such as Africa, wide diversities of practice, and while the old insularity is breaking down as a result of technical cooperation, there continues to be no common line to which the powers can approximate in order to reduce some of the strains resulting particularly where territorial frontiers exist in disregard of ethnical considerations. The papers in the Bristol book are unequal, but most of them are stimulating and apart from the information given in regard to the work of the other colonial powers, the contributions from such British authorities as Professor Margaret Read, Dr. Lucy Mair, Professor Simey and Mr. E. W. Evans are valuable. As Professor McInnes remarks, in the common interest it is desirable that each colonial power should have a clear grasp of the other's past policy as well as present intentions and work. Here we have the historical background and the methods and principles which apply, as well as a discussion of particular problems in the field of anthropology, education, economic development and social advance, subjects that are common to all non-autonomous territories.

Arthur Creech Jones.

Settlers

Edited and introduced by John Hale. (Faber and Faber. 25s.)

This book gives a vivid picture of the hardships, tenacity of purpose and the sheer driving force of pioneer men and women in the early settlement of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The extracts from letters and diaries of twenty-one early settlers build up in a remarkable way the toughness of the life of our ancestors, as we learn what made them emigrate, of their hopes and fears while on the ship (they do not seem to have changed much in over a century), and of their first reactions when they realise that a future, and a home, have got to be won from the virgin bush. The editor has created a sense of continuity in spite of the varied callings, and styles, of the writers.

There is more blood spilt in the first thirty pages than in a dozen modern thrillers as Alexander Henry observes the brutal circumstances of a life of continual improvisation in the early days of the Canadian fur trade, with all its evils and horrors. Australians will be more than amused at John Davies Mereweather's description of 'billy-tea' as 'raking green tea' which makes the stomach so nervous and sensitive that when some tonic is required at a public house 'they [Australians] drink madly of spirituous and fermenting liquors.' They will nod their heads in agreement, and approval, as they read the extract from Samuel Marsden's diary which he wrote on November 26, 1811 . . . 'But I anticipate immense national wealth to spring from this [wool] source of commerce in time.' Marsden could have never dreamt that in 1950 the wool cheque would be £500m.

This book would be very useful to any student of colonial development, and should be on the book-shelf of every public library.

Walter Hood.

SHORT NOTICES

Les Comptoirs Français dans L'Inde Nouvelle. By Dr. Sambo Gopaljee. (Fasquelle Editeurs, Paris. 275 frs.) Dr. Sambo Gopaljee, born in India and long resident in France, is President of the Comité France-Inde. He has written a well-documented statesmanlike study of the French Settlements and the claims of new India. He and his colleagues work for an agreed withdrawal by France from India, with the continuance of cultural and commercial relations.

Self-Government for the Gold Coast. By Dr. K. A. Busia (West African Affairs Pamphlet No. 9. Bureau of Current Affairs, 117, Piccadilly, London, W.1. 7d.) This penetrating analysis of self-government as a problem of ends and means hold the attention from the first page to the last. It cannot fail to stimulate fruitful discussion. Though addressed primarily to the men and women of the Gold Coast it has lessons for us all, no matter where our habitat may be. Noteworthy is the fact that Dr. Busia is Head of the Department of Sociology, University College of the Gold Coast. Among the encouraging achievements of this revolutionary twentieth century is the advance of the Social Sciences.

The British Family of Nations. By John Coatman. (Harrap. 10s. 6d.) Vision and precision distinguish this study of the developing Commonwealth of Nations. Within the Commonwealth framework are here included Member States, Colonies, Protectorates, Protected States, Trusteeship Territories, Condominiums, High Commission Territories. No society is static; everywhere there is process, change, adaptation. This is not a book for the lazy or complacent. It invites hard thinking.

Newfoundland, 10th Province of Canada. By John Parker, M.P. (Lincolns-Prager. 10s. 6d.) John Parker gives a vivid picture of the island and the varied political experiences of its people from the discovery by Cabot in the fifteenth century to the Act of Union with Canada in the twentieth. Of great interest is the author's study of the 'big job' facing the people to-day in the development of actual and potential resources. No less interesting is his hope that the people will build up 'a way of life and a tradition that is definitely Newfoundland in character and not an imitation of that of the United States, Ontario or England.' From his analysis of the composition of the population there would appear to be small danger of excessive imitation.

CORRESPONDENCE

East African Policy

Dear Sir,

The statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on December 13, 1950, requires an endorsement by those who have the future of East Africa at heart. Mr. Griffiths has declared a policy which will, I believe, be welcomed by most Africans in the territories in question.

The indigenous population has always worried about its future—not unjustifiably, seeing that the 'exotic' communities have sometimes tended to minimise, if not ignore altogether, its importance in the development of the East African territories. The establishment of mutual confidence in the place of fear and suspicion which now prevail, will take us a long way 'on the path of political, social and economic progress.' Fear and suspicion are incompatible with the well-being of any society; and these very evils have been responsible for the South African apartheid policy which has rightly been described as the simplest philosophy ever devised. Nobody wishes to see another South Africa.

I fully agree with the Secretary of State's statement that he feels that 'Uganda should develop in its own way, for circumstances differ much from those both in Kenya and Tanganyika.' Perhaps Kenya too differs from Tanganyika! After all, the three territories have different political status; and it is only fair that the development of one of them should not be impeded by circumstances existing in the other two. The steps taken last year by the Kenya Electors' Union against the proposed constitutional changes for Tanganyika is a good example of this undue and harmful interference.

That all communities should co-operate in the efforts to develop East Africa is too true a proposition to be doubted. In the past the Africans have had very little chance to contribute their share. It is groundless to keep on arguing that the African cannot as yet play an appreciable part in the affairs of the state. Give him a chance and see what he can do. He may fail to discharge his duties in the most effective way, but that should not discourage the authorities. Some risks have to be borne if he is to progress. The vested interests of other communities should not become an obstacle to his progress.

Many Africans would, no doubt, support Mr. Griffiths' assurance of the continuance, at least for the time being, of the exercise of ultimate control in East African territories by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. As long as Africans remain inadequately represented in the Legislative Councils there is bound to exist some suspicion among Africans in the activities of those Councils. His Majesty's Government is therefore looked upon by them as their sole saviour in the hour of need and despair. As Mr. Griffiths points out, all reasonable freedom of action by the local Governments should be encouraged. Being on the spot, they see things in their true perspective and so problems can be tackled and solved. Great changes which have taken place in the development of Tanganyika within the last two years show how much a local Government can do to 'speed up' development with favourable results. Surely, the present Governor, in whom Africans have great confidence, deserves a great compliment for what he is doing for that territory.

In conclusion, I should like to express a great hope that the policy that the Secretary of State has declared will be put into practice.

Yours faithfully,

D. A. Omari.

Plynymon Hall,
Aberystwyth.

For Reference

March, 1951

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